7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

241 worn by any man younger than about forty. The European hat with a brim (*birnayta*) is unusual; only two or three men wear them regularly, although others wear them on occasion. Thus, it can be deduced that a good many men, especially young adults and adolescents, ordinarily go hatless, and this is a rather singular practice in a culture where headgear has practical and symbolic significance. The writer believes that the prevailing hatlessness in the younger generation is an aspect, and rather an apt symbol, of the cultural situation in which they find themselves. He believes that if systematic questioning were undertaken on this topic, it would reveal that the younger generation has more or less consciously rejected the old style—which it associates with peasant life—and at the same time is often hesitant to accept the new which represents foreign influence. The European brimmed hat obviously provides better protection than the *tarbush* against the sun, which is the reason, stated by young and old alike, why one should always wear a hat.

Women. The costume of the older, middle-aged, and many of the village-dwelling younger women consists basically of a rather formless, full-skirted black dress (cotton or wool) supplemented by sweater or jacket. A scarf is very often worn over the head, but it is secured under the back hair rather than under the chin. In winter, woolen stockings are worn. There is no elaborate jewelry. The younger women, especially those who work in the city, follow modern European styles.

However, the Western practice of women or girls wearing slacks or shorts has been completely rejected. For this there are at least two reasons. One is that the men regard the practice as a usurpation of a symbol of masculine status. The second is that women who wear slacks or shorts are assumed to be of loose morals. 547] This is because the wearing of these garments by women in the area is associated with the "artistes" (who are mostly European women) who are entertainers in the numerous Western-style nightclubs in Beirut and are generally assumed to be available for other purposes after hours.

[296] For the most part, those who wear European clothes regularly are careful to appear in well-pressed and clean garments. This means more inconvenience and expense than the maintenance of the traditional costume did. Dodd (1940, p. 686) remarks that the relative tightness of Western clothes is not well adapted to summer weather, and certainly the *sbrual* are better and more comfortably adapted to male anatomy than European trousers are.

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT

405 805 It has already been mentioned that the flashlight is a widely distributed item of personal equipment. Another is the wrist watch. Certainly a majority of the villagers who have attained any degree of responsible age have them. Traditional village life required no accurate chronometry, and there was none. The villagers

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

still rise with the sun, although they go to bed after dark. On the whole, there is no specific horological time for meals. However, the village schools operate on a definite time schedule, and this affects quite a large proportion of the resident population—the teachers and their families, the children, and their mothers who prepare their lunches. Of course, those who are, or have been, working in the city, are quite thoroughly conditioned to clock-schedules. A good deal of apparently unnecessary reference to and synchronization of watches was observed in the village. On the whole, however, it can be said that future plans which involve exact hours are made and fulfilled in a casual manner. Perhaps a valid generalization would be that the average individual regards his watch as a symbol of prosperity, an instrument, on occasion, of practical value, and an interesting toy—all in about equal measure.

Combs, toilet soap, safety and straight razors, shaving lotion, etc. (all of European or American manufacture) are universally distributed. Some people have and use toothbrushes. The women do not appear to use cosmetics to any great extent.

A variety of containers have already been described, but several more must be added. The rectangular five-gallon gasoline can, with its top cut out and fitted with a wooden handle, is widely used for carrying water, cement and other bulk materials. Various sizes of coiled baskets, cylindrical with large handles over the top, are used for carrying food. Large, flat wicker trays are used for carrying such things as bread and laundry and for the display of vegetables in the stores. Formerly, silk worm cocoons were set out on them.

Carpenter's and mason's tools—hammers, saws, planes, levels, drills, screwdrivers, chisels, and trowels—appear to be the same in form as they are in the West. Probably most of the items now used are western-made, but most of the forms are very old in the Middle East.

Agricultural tools are conservative and of very ancient form. There are no horses in the village (the Arabs use them for riding rather than for traction), and the ox is the chief draft animal. The plow consists of a wooden shaft (in several segments) to which a round iron spike is set at an agle. The thresher is a heavy sledge into whose bottom sharp volcanic stones (from the Akkar) are set. (See Thoumin, 1936, pp. 134–36, for illustrations.) Grain is winnowed by toning it up into the air with a rather crude fork made entirely of wood. Small saws and hand-clippers (the only recent foreign element in the toolkit) are used for pruning. The last item is an iron spade, which is, if possible, manipulated by two or three men. One man grasps the handle and shaft in the usual manner, and, in effect, pushes the spade. One or two other men pull the spade by means of cords attached to the shaft just above the shoulders of the blade.

The traditional means of communication were donkeys, horses, and human backs and legs, traveling over rough stone paths. To this, can be added a norma-